8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHI Caucasia RHI

§ 2. PREGNANCY

An expectant mother is no longer an ordinary woman in the eyes of the North Caucasians. She has assumed an entirely new value. The mountaineers of Caucasia look upon a murder of a pregnant woman as doubly serious, pregnancy being considered an aggravating circumstance. Thus in Sirgua District of the Province of Dargwa, the murderer must pay an additional 30 silver rubles to the mother's relatives besides the usual bloodwite for murder.[8] In many places an assault causing abortion is considered as serious as murder, and full bloodwite must be paid for the death of the foetus. If the mother dies too, a double bloodwite is demanded by the *adats*.[9] Or again, two persons will become blood-enemies (*qanly*) instead of one—the murderer and one of his kin—one to atone for the death of the mother and the other for the death of the unborn child.[10] Sometimes such cases are dealt with according to two distinct laws, the Islamic and customary.[11] In Ossetia, a pregnant woman becomes exempt from the more strenuous tasks, evidently, as a precaution agalnst miscarriage.[12]

§ 3. BIRTH AND PREFERENCE FOR BOYS

Since the Caucasians, all without exception, are strictly patrilocal, patriarchal and patrilineal, we need not wonder at the preference for boys that prevails throughout the Caucasus. It is the boy who perpetuates the family economically. He also perpetuates the family cult and gives the family prestige.

The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS say "He who has no sons has no children."[13] But even girls are welcome,[14] though perhaps not without some disappointment. The girls are an asset to the family in as far as they are workers and a source of considerable income especially through the *kalym*. Hence, after the young wife becomes a mother of a boy or girl, she takes on a new character and is proud of becoming "fully a wife." She visits her father after her first child and on this occasion he gives her the rest of her bridal portion. Now she is permitted to take off her girl's cap and put on her matron's veil.[15]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. When an Ingush couple have become the parents of a baby boy there is indescribable rejoicing in the *aul*, and

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[8] "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," SSKG, VII (1873), p. 73.

[9] "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," SSKG, VIII (1875), pp. 33, 43, 47, 49.

[10] Cf. "Adaty Južno-Dagestanskich Obščestv," pp. 43, 47, 49.

[11] Cf. "Adaty Darginskich Obščestv," pp. 15, 36, 76. On page 15 we read: "Za ubijstvo beremennoj ženščiny, sverch obyknovennago vzyskanija po adatu, opredeljaetsja vzyskanie po šariatu."

[12] Pčelina, "Rodil'nye obyčai u Osetin," SE, 1937, No. 4, p. 89 ff, who deals with the Ossetine pregnancy customs at length. Many are the questions we might suggest to the Caucasologists regarding pregnancy, which have not yet been investigated. To mention but one important problem: What is the extent on "uncleanness" incurred through pregnancy? (*Cf. Erinov, op. cit.*, p. 114.)

[13] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 202.

[14] Maćavriani, "Nekotorija čerty iz žizni Abchazcev," SMOMK, IV (1884), No. 2, p. 45.

[15] Pallas, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in die südl. Statth. des russ. Reichs, etc.*, I, p. 388.

000 in his arms; to make up for the transgression of the *adat* forbidding public manifestation of affection for one's children, he took out his dagger, crying, "I love my son, but you shall see also that I don't mind killing him," and if the men had not succeeded in calming him, he would have actually killed the child.[21]

606 It is indeed striking that we do not find the parent-in-law avoidances
602 among the Lesghians; at least we have not found any reports in this regard. Parent-in-law avoidances would be quite impossible among the Lesghians, owing to the rule of endogamy.[22]

585 The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. Among the mountain tribes of Georgia
591 the bride and groom, after having spent three days together,[23] are obliged to
593 separate, the groom remaining with his parents and the bride returning to her
602 family. The period of separation, according to Eristov, was a fortnight, according to Seidlitz, depending on agreement,[24] and according to Kosven, "for some weeks or years."[25] In ancient Imeretia the newly-weds would live at the bride's house for a week, after which the young man returned to his father's house, while his wife remained with her family for a year.[26] During the period of separation the husband might visit his wife only secretly. On her return to her husband she did not share a common room with him.[27] A Pshav couple may not call each other by name; instead they use the words "Man!" and "Woman!"[28] Similarly, the wife may not call any of her husband's male relatives by name.[29] In Svanetia one may not inquire about the health of the wife of another person unless related to her.[30] A Svan will never permit his wife to sit down beside him; and, in general, he is very reluctant to converse with her.[31] In Khevsuria a father may not carry his child in his arms or say a single friendly word to it in the presence of others.[32]

The OSSETES. In Ossetia the husband must live at the groomsman's house for a whole month after the wedding. He is forbidden to appear before his father, older members of the household, or any older relatives and may
[343] visit his wife only secretly.[33] As soon as the young wife becomes pregnant she returns to her family and stays there till the child is born.[34]

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[21] *Supra*, pp. 149 f.

[22] *Supra*, pp. 51 f.

[23] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

[24] Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 110. Seidlitz, "Gemeinde- und Familienleben der Chewsuren," *Das Ausland*, 1891, No. 16, p. 320.

[25] M. O. Kosven, "Perežitki matriarchata u narodov Kavkaza," SE, 1936, No. 4—5, p. 217.

[26] *ibid.*

[27] Eristov, *op. cit.*, p. 111. See also Eichwald, *Reise auf dem Kaspischen Meer und in den Kaukasus*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 204.

[28] Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 109.

[29] Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 82.

[30] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, ii, p. 109.

[31] *ibid.*

[32] *Supra*, p. 150.

[33] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 269.

[34] Hahn, "Die Täler der 'Grossen Ljachwa' und Ksanka (ksan) und das südliche Ossetien," *Globus*, LXXXVIII (1905), p. 24. It is worthy of note that the Kurds and the Armenians